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ENGLISH REFORMATION.

A Lecture

DELIVERED IN ST. ANN'S CHURCH

ON

SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 15, 1878,

BY THE

VERY REV. THOMAS S. PRESTON, V.G.

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LECTURE.

In the Apocalypse of St. John, the third chapter and the first verse, are these words: "I know thy works, that thou hast the name of being alive: and thou art dead."

In this brief course of lectures upon the Protestant Reformation and its movement we devote a special lecture to the Reformation in England. There are several reasons why we should do so. In the first place, this movement directly concerns those of our own race and tongue, and therefore has an especial importance for us. Secondly, there were circumstances connected with that Reformation which gave it an external appearance of conservatism, which did not belong to the movement upon the Continent. This was owing to the fact that the movement in England was a wholly civil one, with which the ecclesiastical body had little to do, and the hand of the tyrant shaped its course and forced it to a certain degree of conservatism. Consequently the partisans of the English Church now make pretensions which

were never made in early days. They pretend that the Church of England reformed herself. In this respect they attempt to draw a distinction between the churches upon the Continent and their own church. The churches upon the Continent, say they, utterly destroyed themselves, and were engulfed in the movement that destroyed the essential features of the church and brought in infidelity; but the Church of England took it upon herself by her powers as a church to reform herself, and at the end of that Reformation she stood before the world in her primitive purity. So they contend that she preserved, amid the confusions of the Reformation, the essentials of a church and the hierarchy. We shall see, in the course of this lecture, how utterly contrary to the fact, and contrary even to the professions of the first Reformers in England, are such pretensions. But before I enter upon the body of this lecture I would call your attention to a remark that I made in the previous lecture. The very idea of consenting to the error of the church in a matter of faith is suicidal to the church itself, and no churchman who understands at all the nature of a church would ever agree that his church had fallen into such error; for, as we argued, the church which errs is no church at all. It ceases to be a church by the very fact of its erring. Since the Church of Christ cannot err, it

would be far more consistent, then, if the partisans of the Church of England would simply take the ground of other Protestants and relinquish their pretensions to ecclesiastical power. Protestantism for them would be then somewhat logical. By their pretensions they develop that most incomprehensible and contradictory system of religion which bears the name of Anglicanism. We shall see, in the course of this evening's lecture, how untrue are all their claims; how the English Church had nothing whatever to do with what they call its Reformation; how the actual supremacy of the crown extinguished its liberties; and how in the hands of its royal master it became a slave and a tool. The points which we make in answer to the assertions of the Anglican writers and teachers are as follows:

First. The Reformation in England was a purely civil movement, forced by despotism upon an oppressed and unwilling people, with which the ecclesiastical body had nothing to do.

Secondly. Its beginning was in atrocious crime, and its end was plunder and violence.

Thirdly. It was, as was the Reformation upon the Continent, the destruction of a positive creed and of unity of faith; and

Fourthly. The result was the establishment of a state church depending entirely upon the civil power,

and having no connection with the ancient Church, neither by apostolic orders nor by jurisdiction.

I.

The Reformation in England was not the action of the Church, but of the civil power. It was, in fact, the enslaving of the Church and the extinction of its life. To prove this, we shall only develop the facts of history which show that the initiative in this movement was always taken by the crown; that the purposes of the crown were accomplished in spite of the Church, and against the will of an enslaved people; and, thirdly, that the voice of the Church, in council or by her bishops, was stifled, and all power to act destroyed. The King of England, Henry VIII., had no sympathy with the Reformation or with the Reformers. He desired, however, the gratification of his passions; and the whole cause of his rupture with the Holy See was the divorce of his wife, Queen Catherine. Inasmuch as the Holy See could not yield to his desires, nor break the law of God to please his will, his first step was to erect a royal supremacy, a thing unheard of in the annals of Christian history; and secondly, to silence the Convocation, or council of the Church, and to accomplish his ends by a servile Parliament. To the oath of supremacy forced upon his subjects we shall refer afterwards in this lecture. This oath gave the king complete and despotic control of the Church in all matters of discipline and of faith, and placed the ecclesiastical body completely at his will. This was the end of the whole proceeding; and while it sought to abolish the authority of the Vicar of Christ, it destroyed the very nature of a Church, and made the crown a despotic tyrant in things spiritual. With such an act of kingly supremacy no Church could live one moment; and in it the rights of the English Church were wholly extinguished. I think there is no need of my delaying you by any argument upon this self-evident point.

The first step of the king, when he had declared himself the royal master of the Church, was to silence the Church itself, to stop the mouth of its Convocation, and bind it hand and foot, that it could no longer speak. This being true, how could it be said for one moment, in honesty, that the Church had anything to do with its own reformation? Here I prefer to give you the testimony of the Protestant historians themselves, that you may see that no word of mine is exaggerated or partial. I quote first from Burnet, who writes a history of the Church of England, and himself was a bishop of that Church.

Two years before the abrogation by Parliament of

the Papal supremacy * the Convocation had been bound to make no canons without the king's assent. And in 1532 this council was forced to the following submission: "That they would not enact, promulge, or put in execution any constitution to be made by them without the royal license; such was the trust they put in the king's wisdom, goodness, and zeal, and in his incomparable learning, far exceeding the learning of all other princes they had read of." "They also offered to moderate or annul the constitutions already passed, according to his judgment."

"By this," says Burnet, "all the opposition that the convocations would probably have given to every step that was afterwards made in the Reformation was so entirely restrained that the quiet progress of that work was owing to the restraints under which the clergy put themselves by their submission; and in this the whole body of the Reformed Church has cheerfully acquiesced, till within these few years, that great endeavors have been made to blacken and disgrace it."

Edward VI. came to the throne in 1547. The authority of the crown was freely used to accomplish their ends, Cranmer and his partisans acting simply by royal commission. The "Popish party," says Burnet, II. 74, "was yet so prevalent in both houses

^{*}Burnet, Appleton's Ed., III. 117-20; IV. 434.

of Convocation that Cranmer had no hopes of doing anything until they were freed of the trouble which some of the great bishops gave them." An attempt was made to frame a new liturgy. But so fixed were the principles of faith that little could be done. committee appointed by the crown to examine the services began by proposing questions on the Holy Eucharist, and ended by opposing the most cherished views of the Reformers. Nevertheless, the new prayer-book drawn up by Cranmer was set forth by royal authority, and in Parliament, 1549, an act was passed confirming its use. By the same act heavy penalties were passed against such as should refuse to use it. This act excited great opposition and gave great pain to the nation, for as we are told by Dr. Short (sec. 313), an English Protestant bishop, "no opinion was entertained with so much earnestness on the part of the people as that of Transubstantiation. Its friends regarded the suppression of it as the destruction of their chief spiritual hope." things were to go on as it pleased the king and his council. "The power of granting licenses to preach was taken away from the bishops of each diocese, so that none might give them but the king and the archbishop of Canterbury," and at one time all preaching was forbidden (Burnet, II. 128).

Cranmer then set to preparing articles of religion,

and framed forty-two, which in 1553 were published under the royal authority. These articles had no sanction from the ecclesiastical body, though by their original title it might so appear. Says Bishop Short (sec. 484): "From the title under which these articles were originally published, it might be supposed that they derived their authority from the sanction of Convocation; but if they were ever submitted to the upper house, which is very questionable, it is indubitable that they were never brought before the lower, while all the original mandates which remain prove that they were promulgated by the royal proclamation alone." The plan of reformation which was pursued by Cranmer in this reign was, in the words of the same writer (Short, sec. 338), "to entrust the task of reforming any particular branch of church matters to a committee of divines appointed by the crown, sometimes on the ground of the ecclesiastical supremacy, and sometimes under an act of Parliament, and then to sanction the result by a fresh bill, or by publishing it under the royal authority." "This method of proceeding may be esteemed very unconstitutional with regard to the Convocation, but if the supreme authority be lodged in the civil magistrate, in him, too, must be vested the power of finally approving or rejecting all regulations with regard to the service of the Church."

Thus we behold the practical result of Henry's supremacy in the destruction of all ecclesiastical legislation. Nor was it only a matter of fact; it became a matter of doctrine; and while the clergy were bound to subscribe to it, its effects ran deeper than the surface of things, and vitiated what was left of the faith. The opinions of Archbishop Cranmer became Erastian. In 1540 he replied to certain questions proposed to him, and seemed to look upon the whole clerical office as dependent entirely upon the civil magistrate, saying that the prince or the people might make a priest for themselves, for whom no consecration was necessary, and that "the power of excommunication depends entirely on the civil authority committed to a bishop." "A trace of these sentiments," says Bishop Short, "may be found in those of the Thirty-nine Articles which relate to the church, among which Articles XIX., XXI., and XXIII. might be subscribed by any one who held opinions purely Erastian."

When Queen Mary came to the throne in 1553 the freedom of convocation was restored, but even in the new Church founded by Elizabeth, with bishops of her own making, it was again taken away.

And not only was all the pretended Reformation accomplished by the secular power, but the Church, so far as it could speak, protested. Every action

of the Convocation condemned the reformed doctrines.

The last acts by which Elizabeth completed the work and established her new Church were accomplished not by Convocation but by a Parliament specially elected for the purpose through the influence of the crown, the final vote passing the House of Lords by a meagre majority of three.

Burnet, the Protestant historian, admits that "all endeavors were too weak to overcome the aversion of the people toward the Reformation," and even intimates that "German troops were sent for from Calais on account of the bigotry with which the bulk of the people adhered to the old superstition" (Burnet, III. 170-6).

II.

The English Reformation began in crime and ended in violence.

1. That crime was the beginning of the movement of Henry VIII. hardly needs a demonstration. His career for wickedness is unexampled in history.

The only motive for his action was the determination he had made to gratify his passions at all costs, and to obtain a divorce from Queen Catherine, his lawful wife.

The Holy See could not consent to this violation of the divine law, and so the Protestant Reformation began. Once the open opponent of Luther and the defender of the faith, he became the strongest enemy of the Church. Unbridled and open lust was the cause of all his actions on this religious question.

The adulterous murderer unfortunately found tools at his hand among the ministers, and even among the bishops, who surrounded him. His principal tool in things ecclesiastical deserves a brief notice, as he is not only marked by his own crimes but identified with those of his master.

Thomas Cranmer was born in 1489. While a fellow at Jesus College, Cambridge, he fell in love with a barmaid at the Dolphin Hotel and married her. For this marriage he was obliged to quit his college, but on the death of his wife a year afterward he returned to his fellowship. He graduated in theology in 1526. He became a favorite of Henry VIII. by his advocacy of the divorce of Queen Catherine. It was Cranmer who proposed to the king to disregard the Pope, and apply to the Catholic universities. "By St. Mary," said Henry, "I have at last caught the right sow by the ear." And we may add that he held on to the ear to his death. Cranmer was sent on a mission to Rome, and on his return he fell in love with Osiander's niece at Nuremberg, and secretly married her, notwithstanding his vows, and even the commands of the king, who never would allow priests to marry.

He was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533. At his consecration he swore allegiance to the Roman See, which he inever intended to render. He continued to pander to all the vices of the king, and by his servile obsequiousness saved his life, which was more than once in danger.

He was accused by the canons of Canterbury of heresy and transgression of the laws of the Church and the realm, but he sent his wife out of the country and saved himself by downright prevarication and falsehood. But we leave the words of Macaulay to speak further of this shameless ecclesiastic:

"The shameful origin of Cranmer's history, common enough in the scandalous chronicles of courts, seems strangely out of place in a hagiology. Cranmer rose into favor by serving Henry in a disgraceful affair of his first divorce. He promoted the marriage of Anne Boleyn with the king. On a frivolous pretence he pronounced it null and void. On a pretence, if possible, still more frivolous he dissolved the ties which bound the shameless tyrant to Anne of Cleves. He attached himself to Cromwell while the fortunes of Cromwell flourished. He voted for cutting off his head without a trial when the tide of royal favor turned. He conformed backwards and forwards as the king changed his mind. While Henry lived he assisted in condemning to the flames

those who denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. When Henry died he found out that the doctrine was false. He was, however, not at a loss for people to burn. The authority of his station and of his grav hairs was employed to overcome the disgust with which an intelligent and virtuous child regarded persecution. Intolerance is always bad, but the sanguinary intolerance of a man who thus wavered in his creed excites a loathing to which it is difficult to give vent without calling foul names. Equally false to political and to religious obligations, he was first the tool of Somerset and then the tool of Northumberland. When the former wished to put his own brother to death without even the form of a trial, he found a ready instrument in Cranmer. spite of the canon law, which forbade a churchman to take any part in matters of blood, the archbishop signed the warrant for the atrocious sentence. Somerset had been in his turn destroyed, his destroyer received the support of Cranmer in his attempt to change the course of the succession.

"But his martyrdom, it is said, redeemed everything. It is extraordinary that so much ignorance should exist on this subject. The fact is, that if a martyr be a man who chooses to die rather than to renounce his opinions, Cranmer was no more a martyr than Dr. Dodd. He died solely because he

could not help it. He never retracted his recantation till he found he had made it in vain. The queen was fully resolved that, Catholic or Protestant, he should burn. Then he spoke fout, as people generally speak out when they are at the point of death and have nothing to hope or to fear on earth. If Mary had suffered him to live, we suspect that he would have heard Mass and received absolution like a good Catholic, till the accession of Elizabeth, and that he would then have purchased, by another apostasy, the power of burning men better and braver than himself."*

As regards the morals of the people with these examples before them, we give a brief quotation from Lingard:

"Nor were the national morals improved, if we may judge from the portraits drawn by the most eminent of the reformed preachers. They assert that the sufferings of the indigent were viewed with indifference by the hard-heartedness of the rich; that in the pursuit of gain the most barefaced frauds were avowed and justified; that robbers and murderers escaped punishment by the partiality of juries; that church livings were given to laymen, or converted to the use of the patrons; that marriages were repeatedly dis-

^{*} Macaulay's "Review of Hallam."

solved by private authority; and that the haunts of prostitution were multiplied beyond measure. How far credit should be given to such representations may perhaps be doubtful. Declamations from the pulpit are not the best historical Much in them must be attributed to evidence. the exaggeration of zeal, much to the affectation of eloquence. Still, when these deductions have been made, when the invectives of Knox and Lever, of Gilpin and Latimer have been reduced by the standard of reason and experience, enough will remain to justify the conclusion that the change of religious polity, by removing many of the former restraints upon vice and enervating the authority of the spiritual courts, had given a bolder front to licentiousness and opened a wider scope to the indulgence of criminal passion."*

Passing from the subject of morality, we will dwell for a moment upon the plunder of the property belonging to the Church and dedicated by pious legacies to the service of God.

The confiscation of ecclesiastical property began in 1535. A commission was appointed by Cromwell to make a general visitation of the religious houses of the kingdom, with a view, as Mr. Hume candidly admits, of discovering such irregularities as might

^{*}Lingard, Vol. VII. p. 108.

furnish a pretext for their suppression. Parliament, acting upon the report of the commissioners, passed a bill to suppress all religious houses whose income was less than two hundred pounds a year, and to seize their revenues for the crown. One hundred and seventy-six houses were thus suppressed and plundered.

The larger monasteries soon after shared the same fate. So great was the indignation of the people at the wholesale robbery of sacred property, that the masses in the northern counties rose in rebellion, took possession of the suppressed convents, and restored them to their owners. But this "pilgrimage of grace," as it was called, only helped the agents of the crown; as the communities of the larger establishments were charged with complicity in the insurrection, and their property was also confiscated.

Where bribes and fair promises would not succeed in the southern counties, threats and violence were employed. "By the year 1540 the royal will had been carried out with shocking vandalism; works that had cost years of patient and skilful labor, the triumphs of art and the monuments of science, all were destroyed. Nor did the hatred of the ancient faith stop here. The tombs of St. Augustine, the apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, and St. Thomas à

Becket were despoiled, and the ashes they contained flung to the winds. Even the tomb of King Alfred, the founder of England's greatness, did not escape the hands of the ravager. From the revenues of the confiscated monastic establishments, Henry founded and scantily endowed six bishoprics and fourteen cathedral and collegiate churches; but the bulk of the sacrilegious plunder went to indemnify the royal visitors and the parasites of the court."

Of the crimes which made infamous the first steps of the English Reformation, Lord Macaulay uses these words:

"Here zeal was the tool of worldliness. A king whose character may best be described by saying that he was despotism personified, unprincipled ministers, a rapacious aristocracy, a servile Parliament—such were the instruments by which England was delivered from the yoke of Rome. The work which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset, the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest. Sprung from brutal passion, nurtured by selfish policy, the Reformation in England displayed little of what had in other countries distinguished it."

The following is the testimony of one of the

^{*} Alzog, III. 197.

[†] Miscellan., p. 71.

English bishops in reference to the plunder of ecclesiastical property:

"The ravage which was committed by Henry was the wasteful prodigality of a tyrant. Edward the monarch was too weak to resist the avarice of those who governed, and Mary rather enriched than robbed the Establishment; but Elizabeth laid her hands on all that she could grasp; though, for the sake of keeping up appearances, she restored some small portion in foundations connected with education. The poverty of the Church in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth was excessive, not only among the higher clergy, who were exposed to these attacks from the court, but among the lower and laborious individuals who possess no dignified station, and have no further worldly prospect than to provide bread for themselves and their families." *

2. The end of a movement so infamous by unparalleled crimes was a violence of persecution before unknown.

It was reserved for Protestant England to inaugurate a system of extermination which we have never known before nor since. We shall briefly touch upon some features of this persecution, for in our day it is little known or often forgotten. When Henry began

^{*} Short's "Hist. of the Church of England," pp. 137, 138.

his race of crime and rebellion the nation was altogether opposed to his movements. The great mass always continued Catholic, even to the day of Elizabeth; and when she set up her Church and organized her hierarchy it was necessary to force respect and oblige conformity. The bull which Pope Pius V. had fulminated against her waked up all her malice, and for a while she sought its revocation. "Why," said the Pontiff, "if you deem the sentence valid, do you not seek a reconciliation with the Holy See? If you deem it invalid, why do you wish it to be revoked?" * But acts were now employed in Parliament to make a due retaliation. The penalties of treason were enacted against all who should write or speak against Elizabeth's succession, against all who should receive or use any writing or instrument from the Bishop of Rome, without which the Catholic Church could not subsist. Persons were also forbidden under the fear of pramunire to introduce or receive the crosses or pictures or Agnus Dei blessed by Papal authority, while all over a certain age were bound to attend the established service. Any Catholics who for fear or the enjoyment of religion had fled to other countries were bidden to return under the penalty of forfeiture of all their goods to the use of the queen. These acts were a two-edged sword from

^{*} Lingard, VIII. ch. 2.

which the Catholics suffered severely, but not alone. Delegates were appointed by the crown with full powers to enforce the rigorous law. An open schism was the result, for in spite of the act, the Puritans abandoned the churches and suffered willingly for the offence. The Catholics, however, had a double For them there was no possible peace. Many sought beyond the seas an asylum, and by so doing lost all their lands and titles. Others remained, and satisfied their consciences on the ground that attending Protestant worship was but an act of civil obedience; while the greater number refused to obey the law, and passed their lives in fear and alarm, hunted from place to place, or boldly confessing the faith under imprisonment and death. The priests that remained were forced to concealment, and performed their functions and administered the sacraments in private houses. But death daily thinned their number, and it was confidently expected that the Catholic priesthood, and with it the Catholic worship, would become extinct. In the first year of Elizabeth more bishops and priests were deprived and punished than in all the preceding reigns. Every kind of suspicion was made to act against the remnant of the faithful. Some of the powers of Europe attempted to interfere, but this only accelerated the speed of persecution.

"The Catholics," says Dr. Lingard, "were at this time doomed to suffer additional severities, although hardly a month had been allowed to pass, in which the scaffold had not streamed with their blood. A statute was now enacted providing that if any clergyman born in the queen's dominions, and ordained by the authority of the Bishop of Rome, were found within the realm after the expiration of forty days, he should be adjudged guilty of high treason; that all persons aiding or abetting him should be liable to the penalties of felony; that whosoever knew of his being in the kingdom and did not discover him within twelve days should be fined and imprisoned at the queen's pleasure; that all students in the Catholic seminaries who did not return within six months after proclamation to that effect should be punished as traitors; that persons supplying them with money should incur a pramunire; that parents sending their children abroad without license should forfeit for every such offence one hundred pounds; and that children so sent to seminaries should be disabled from inheriting the property of their parents."

These were new measures to extinguish the priesthood. During the lapse of fourteen years it is positively known that sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven

^{*} Dr. Lingard, VIII, ch. 3.

laymen, and two gentlewomen had suffered capital punishment for some of these spiritual offences, the penalties of recusancy were so great that by it all the property of Catholics was confiscated to the crown. There was a fine for every act of disobedience. The crime of hearing even one Mass was punished by a year's imprisonment and the forfeiture of one hundred marks. When they were confined in prison it was at their own charge. Every attempt to educate or instruct in the true religion was visited by the severest penalties. Some were publicly whipped, and in default of money had their ears bored with a hot iron. And many of these persons had bound themselves to oaths of loyalty which fully satisfied the council. These things are a poor analysis of the persecution under Elizabeth, whose object was not merely the suppression but the extinction of the old faith.

We pass on now to notice the penal code of James I., which embraces the full spirit of the preceding reign, and which laid the foundation of many years of suffering. We shall see how the persecution extended even to ordinary life and to the deprivation of all civil privileges.

(May 27, 1606.) 1. Catholics were forbidden under particular penalties to appear at court, to dwell within the boundaries of the city of London, or to remove on any occasion more than five miles from their homes without a special license under the signatures of four neighboring magistrates. 2. They were made incapable of practising in surgery or physic, or in the common or civil law; of acting as judges, clerks, or officers in any court or corporation; of presenting to livings, schools, or hospitals in their gift; or of performing the offices of administrators, executors, or guardians. 3. Husbands and wives, unless they had been married by a Protestant minister, were made to forfeit every benefit to which he or she might be entitled from the property of the other. Unless their children were baptized by a Protestant minister within a month after birth, each omission subjected them to a fine of one hundred pounds. And if after death they were not buried in a Protestant cemetery, their executors were liable to pay for each corpse the sum of twenty pounds. 4. Every child sent for education beyond the seas was from that moment debarred from any devise, descent, or gift, until he should return and conform to the Established Church; all such benefits being assigned by law to the Protestant next of kin. 5. Every recusant was placed in the state of excommunication; his house might be searched, his books and furniture having any relation to his worship might be burned, and his horses and arms taken from him by the magistrate. 6. All who ab-

sented themselves from the Established Church were bound at the king's option to pay a fine for every month, or to give up all their personal and two-thirds of their real estate. Every one who harbored a Catholic visitor or servant in his house was fined ten pounds every lunar month. Lastly, a new oath of allegiance was devised, by which it resulted that all who believed in the temporal power of the Supreme Pontiff were subject to perpetual imprisonment. No wonder that this code excited the dismay and abhorrence of the world. No wonder that the French minister exclaimed that these things were more worthy of barbarians than of civilized men. Such, however, was, and such has been, the penal law in England. It is only recently that we have seen the end of it, and even now the end is not come. Succeeding reigns altered or revised the provisions of this code, which fell by its very severity, and could not long be put in active operation.

"The rack," says Hallam, "seldom stood idle in the Tower for all the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. To those who remember the annals of their country, that dark and gloomy pile affords associations not quite so numerous and recent as the Bastile once did, yet enough to excite our hatred and horror. . . . Such excessive severities, under the pretext of treason, but sustained by very little evidence of any other offence than the exercise of the Catholic ministry, excited indignation throughout a great part of Europe."*

III.

The English Reformation was, like the movement on the Continent, which we have considered, the destruction of any positive creed and of all unity of faith.

1. Theoretically.

The idea of the Church reforming itself in faith (as we have seen) destroys the very idea of a teaching body, or any authority to teach.

Then without a teacher unity in belief is impossible, and can hardly be conceived of, as every man is his own teacher.

Secondly, the fact of the civil power destroying the creed of a Church, or altering it, demonstrates the impossibility of unity.

No promise of infallibility has ever been given by God to a king, and the very assertion of the supremacy of the crown is destructive of the foundations of the Church.

Henry VIII. asserted his independence of the Vicar of Christ, and made himself the head of the Church. Then he affirmed most of the doctrines of

^{*} Hallam, "Const. Hist.," p. 93.

the Catholic faith, and sought to enforce them under pain of death.

In 1536 he published articles of faith, by the enforcing of which both Catholics and Protestants were brought to the stake. Protestants were unwilling to confess doctrines they had renounced, and Catholics could not receive his ecclesiastical supremacy.

2. Practically there is no creed in the English Church, and no unity of faith.

The retention of the creeds is nothing, as these creeds are interpreted according to the mind of the receiver, or quietly let alone. There are multitudes in the English Church who do not know the proper doctrine of the incarnation of our Lord. There are none who can really believe in *one* holy Catholic Church, or in the communion of saints.

The only dogmatic standards are the *articles* of *religion*. These articles are Calvinistic, Lutheran, and Erastian at once.

They deny the infallibility of the Church in whole or in part, which very expression is a contradiction in terms. They assert the sufficiency of Holy Scripture as a rule of faith, to be interpreted by private judgment. Under the same canopy we have all the shades of Protestantism. We have Low Church and no church, Broad Church, and High

Church, and Ritualism. No existing sect can boast of such variety. There are some who refuse to accept the Articles, and there are others who will not receive the offices of the Prayer-Book. No living man can tell what is the actual creed of the Church of England.

We quote from what the "Anglo-Catholics" call the very acceptable authority of Dr. Döllinger: "As to what the English Church possessed of positive ecclesiastical tenets, it has gradually allowed them to become obsolete. It is content with taking up just so much space in life as commerce, the enjoyment of riches, and the habitude of a class desirous before all things of comfort may have left to it. Of the numerous pious practices by which formerly the lives of Englishmen were attached to the Christian faith, there are few that the Church has not broken, or allowed to be broken, and the few that remain are those which possess the smallest restraining power. The confession of sins, fasting, everything that falls within the limits of the ascetic, the average Englishman reckons as superstition. His Church, and it is that for which he especially admires it, requires of him nothing "superstitious." Its insulated character also, its separation from every other Christian community, suits the national taste, and is a popular feature of the Anglican Church. . . . The Anglican clergyman is a *gentleman* who has no mission from God, and no fixed doctrine to proclaim, for the Church he serves has none. What he teaches is only the opinion of the party or school to which he belongs, by the accidents of birth, education, or society."*

"This Church," as the excellent Alexander Knox has complained, "is wanting in all settled dogmatic principles. A theological system presupposes a knowledge of what the Church really teaches; but in England no one knows that, or can know it, not even the Prime Minister and his Privy Council. If, for example, a hand-book of Anglican theology had been issued before the decision of the Gorham controversy, it must have been after that decision entirely remodelled, since the principle thereby disavowed, and the one thereby established, govern the entire organism of doctrine; for the question that was answered in the negative by the celebrated decision of the Privy Council was whether the dogma of the sacramental effect of Baptism was a doctrine of the Anglican Church. The view of the Evangelicals, according to which Baptism is a mere rite of consecration, has hereby obtained its franchise in the Anglican Church; and that is, even according to Lutheran theology, a heresy which alone would

^{*} Dr. Döllinger's "Church and the Churches," pp. 146, 147.

make every union with the Lutherans and Calvinists for ever impossible. It may be said of the English Church that it is like an Indian idol, with many heads and very few hands, and every head with different views." . . "If the whole of the Episcopal constitution were done away with," says Hallam, "it would make no perceptible difference in the religion of the people." "The true Church," says Carlyle, "consists now of the publishers of these political newspapers, which preach to the people daily and weekly, with an authority formerly only possessed by the Reformers or popes."

"The Church of England declares pure doctrine, the right use of the sacraments, and the maintenance of discipline to be the three signs of a true Church. The Church itself, however, has no fixed doctrine; its formulas contradict each other, and what one part of its servants teach is rejected by the other as a soul-destroying error. It is also dumb, and incapable of making known, in any form, its true sentiments, even when it has them.

"Concerning the proper administration of the sacraments, there exist within its bosom the same contradictions as with respect to doctrine; and as to discipline it has lost even the semblance of unity."*

^{*} Dr. Döllinger's "Church and the Churches," pp. 171, 172.

"It ought to be considered," says the London Times, of August, 1852, "that this Church, to which the Parliament had given its present form, possesses every attribute, every advantage, and every disadvantage of a compromise. Her articles and authorized formularies are so drawn as to admit within her pale persons differing as widely as it is possible for the professors of the Christian religion to differ from each other. Unity was neither sought nor obtained, but comprehension was aimed at and accomplished. Therefore we have in the Church of England persons differing not merely in their particular tenets but on the rule and ground of their belief."

The Protestant Episcopal Church is still more disunited, because there is no state to hold it together.

It has made advances in the path of Protestant Reformation.

It has omitted the Athanasian Creed, because it was too decided for its faith.

It has reaffirmed the articles, with all their obnoxious Calvinistic and Lutheran opinions.

It has omitted the only form of absolution which could be a valid form for a true priest having jurisdiction.

It has denied any real presence of our Lord in the Eucharist. This was emphatically done in the General Convention of 1868, where the bishops "condemn any doctrine of the Holy Eucharist which implies that after consecration the proper nature of bread and wine does not remain, or which *localizes* in them the bodily presence of our Lord."

October 11, 1871, the bishops in council declared "that the word regenerate used in the office for Baptism does not signify any moral change wrought in the sacrament."

At the same convention the bishops condemned the practice of "private confession as an engine of oppression and a source of corruption," asserting that "pardon is granted to any child of God on his repentance."

The Episcopal Church admits to its communion anybody and everybody, without conditions—all kinds of Protestants, even sometimes those who do not believe in the Trinity.

It marries anybody, even people unbaptized, without asking of them any profession of faith.

It buries, in "the hope of a glorious resurrection," any one, except, perhaps, the suicide, and asks no questions as to faith or practice.

£2.

IV.

The result was the establishment of a *state Church*, depending upon the civil power, without orders or jurisdiction.

I. As for the *civil* character of the Reformed Church of England, we need only cite the fact that the Church owes its existence to the state, and that the crown is its complete master.

It began by the claim of royal supremacy in things spiritual. By this claim the authority of the Vicar of Christ was rejected, and the whole ecclesiastical character of the church destroyed.

This claim made the king the fountain of all spiritual power, and the bishops were declared to derive their authority from him.

We quote from the English Bishop Short (History, sec. 201): "Henry VIII. now suspended all the bishops from the use of their episcopal authority during the visitation which he purposed to institute; and after a time the power of exercising it was restored by a commission, to the following effect, which was granted to each of them on their petitioning for it: 'Since all authority, civil and ecclesiastical, flows from the crown, and since Cromwell (our lay vicar-general), to whom the ecclesiastical part has been committed, is so occupied

that he cannot fully exercise it, we commit to you the license of ordaining, proving wills, and using other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, besides those things which are committed to you by God in Holy Scripture; and we allow you to hold this authority during our pleasure, as you must answer to God and to us.' It must be confessed that this commission seems rather to outstep the limits of that authority which God has committed to the civil magistrate.''

The opinions of Cranmer were in accordance with his Lutheran sentiments, and his character as the unscrupulous minister of Henry VIII.

"He held that Confirmation, Orders, and Extreme Unction were not sacraments, that Christian princes have the whole care of their subjects, as well in things spiritual as temporal, and that ministers of God's word are only officers appointed by them. Ceremonies used in the admission of ministers are not of necessity, but only for good order. There is no more promise of God's grace in committing of the ecclesiastical office than of the civil office. The apostles appointed ministers only because there were then no Christian princes. Princes may make priests as well as bishops, and so may the people by their election. No consecration is needed, for election or appointing is sufficient" (Canon Estcourt, p. 21).

The unchristian oath of supremacy, re-enacted

in the time of Elizabeth, the actual founder of the English Church, reads thus:

"I, A B, do utterly testify and declare in my conscience that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of the realm, and of all other her highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities."

"The clergy of the Church of England," says Blackstone, "derive all their title from the civil magistrate. They look up to the king as their head, to the Parliament as their law-giver, and pride themselves in nothing more justly than in being true members of the church emphatically by law established" (Comm. IV. 104).

The present sovereign of England, like all her predecessors since Elizabeth, swore to "maintain the Protestant reformed religion, established by law."

On St. John Baptist's day, 1559, by royal edict, the public celebration of Mass ceased throughout the whole realm. But as the bishops, with one exception, refused to assent to this iniquity, and to say that in their consciences they "believed that the queen alone was the supreme governor of the Church under Christ, they were soon after deprived of their dignities, and committed either to prison or to the custody of divers persons" (Sanders, book IV. ch. 3).

"Elizabeth," says Macaulay ("Review of Hallam"), "clearly discerned the advantages which were to be derived from a close connection between the monarchy and the priesthood. At the time of her accession, indeed, she evidently meditated a partial reconciliation with Rome, and throughout her life she leaned strongly to some of the most obnoxious parts of the Catholic system. But her imperious temper, her keen sagacity, and her peculiar situation soon led her to attach herself completely to a Church which was all her own."

Such is the condition of the English Church, as it has been since its foundation, and as we see it now. The state speaks for it, either by Parliament, or court, or Privy Council. It cannot speak for itself.

Convocation has neither liberty nor authority, and its assembling since the day of Elizabeth has been a mere matter of form.

As for Pan-Anglican synods, they are mere voluntary assemblies of respectable gentlemen, as admitted by their own friends, and have no pretension to any doctrinal authority.

II. A Church cut off from the communion of the Catholic body and its head, the Vicar of Christ, can have no *jurisdiction*, for there can be but *one* Church, as there is *one* Lord.

There may be the apostolic succession of bishops separate from the Catholic Church, but such bishops, with valid orders, can have no jurisdiction, and all their acts are sacrilegious.

Such is the case with the schismatical and heretical churches of the East.

The English Church, however, established by law, has no valid orders, having lost both the faith and the hierarchy of the ancient Church.

This is the consequence of her reformation.

As this point is of some importance to the ecclesiastical enquirers of the day, it has been very often made plain. "None are so blind as those who will not see." May God open the eyes of the blind.

The rules of Catholic ordination must govern the inquiry, and not modern opinions. This is evident, since it is of Catholic orders that we speak. The points which we make, following Catholic theologians and the practice of the Church, are:

First. These orders are rejected by the Church, and by every body which has an unquestioned apostolic succession.

Is there any other tribunal?

Second. The English ordinations depend upon that of Archbishop Parker, and there is no evidence that he was validly consecrated, because, admitting that he was consecrated at all,

- (a) there is no proof of the consecration of Barlow, his consecrator;
- (b) the form used is so defective that from this cause alone the orders would be null.

1.

There is no question of the decision of the Catholic Church on the subject of the English orders. They have been pronounced invalid from the very beginning and to this day.

All Anglican ministers passing to the priesthood have been absolutely reordained.

Dr. Nicholas Sanders, a contemporary of Elizabeth, thus writes: "Now, when these superintendents were to be made, the affair became ridiculous; they could find no Catholic bishops to lay hands upon them, and in their sect there were neither three nor two bishops, nor was there any metropolitan what-

soever. They did not betake themselves to their neighbors, the Lutherans or Calvinists, for the purpose of obtaining the services of a bishop, for perhaps there were none among them. They importuned an Irish archbishop, then a prisoner in London, and promised to set him at liberty and reward him for his services if he would preside at their ordination. But the good man could not be persuaded to lay hallowed hands upon heretics or be a partaker in the sins of others.

"Being thus utterly destitute of all lawful orders, and generally spoken of as men who were not bishops, they were compelled to have recourse to the civil power to obtain in the coming Parliament the confirmation of their rank from a lay authority, which should also pardon them, if anything had been done or left undone contrary to law; and this was done after they had been some years acting as bishops without any episcopal consecration. Hence their name of parliamentary bishops" (Sanders' "Anglican Schism," IV. 5).

Le Courayer says: "It is evident that all the English Catholics in Elizabeth's time refused to recognize Parker as a bishop, as well as those whom he consecrated. Sanders, Stapleton, Harding, and all those who have written on this subject furnish authentic proofs of this."

So all Catholic writers in that day of persecution speak of Elizabeth's bishops.

"Consider," says Bristow (1574), "what Church that is whose ministers are but very laymen, unsent, uncalled, unconsecrated, and therefore executing their pretended office without benefit or spiritual comfort of any man; holding, therefore, among us, when they repent and come again, no other place but that of laymen; in no case admitted nor looking to minister in any office, unless they take our orders, which before they had not."

Harding (1568), in his answer to Jewell, replies: "You were made, you say, by the consecration of the archbishop [Parker] and three other bishops. And how, I pray you, was your archbishop himself consecrated? You have made the matter worse, for your metropolitan, who should give authority to all your consecrations, had himself no lawful consecration."

There is no need of multiplying testimonies.

The Sacrament of Order cannot be reiterated without sacrilege, but the practice of the Catholic Church has been invariably to reordain English ministers absolutely, and never conditionally.

There were many thus ordained.

There is the decree of the Holy Office, April 17, 1704, sanctioned by Pope Clement XI.

By this decree the orders of Dr. John Clement Gordon, the Anglican bishop of Galloway, were pronounced null, and he was promoted to the minor orders, having first received the Sacrament of Confirmation. Through humility he did not ascend to the sacred orders. He received tonsure from the hands of the Pope himself, who gave him the name of the Abate Clemente.

The Greek Church has in like manner acted with regard to the Anglican orders.

We quote from a work by Dr. Overbeck, a priest of the Russo-Greek Church:

"Rome's dealing with the Anglican clergy who went over to her is a true pattern of orthodox dealing. If Rome considers all ordinations by Parker and his successors to be invalid, null, and void, and consistently reordained all those converts who wished and were fit for orders, the Eastern Church can but imitate her proceedings, as both follow on this point the same principles.

"As Parker's consecration was invalid, the apostolic line was broken off—immediately broken off."

The orthodox Greek Church has also anathematized the English Church and its doctrines, and has never allowed any of its members to receive Holy Communion at the hands of her priests. The Council

^{*} Dr. Overbeck's "Catholic Orthodoxy," pp. 67, 71.

of Bethlehem, 1672, has spoken as strongly as did the Council of Trent.

Nor did the Anglicans ever find any heretical sect with the true apostolic succession which would in any way acknowledge these orders or take part in them.

Dr. Ewer, of this city, in a lecture remarkable for self-contradiction, tells us that in 1617 "one Mark A. De Dominis, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Spalatro, went to England and joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury in the consecration of ten bishops." He gives no references, and, in fact, gives none in the whole book; but he is probably not aware that, according to Catholic theology, as we will see, the consecration would be held invalid unless the consecrator were a validly ordained bishop. Why did not the Archbishop of Canterbury yield to this apostate his own place, and thus mend his orders?

2.

The ordination of Archbishop Parker was null.

1. There is no evidence that William Barlow, his consecrator, was ever ordained.

Admitting the fact of a ceremony of consecration, which seems most probable, it is certain that Barlow was the consecrator.

This matter has been fully and candidly examined

by many writers, and the summary of evidence is this:

First. There is no record anywhere of his consecration.

Second. "All the arguments used by Bramhall and Elrington, such as the *præmunire*, the grant of temporalities, and the seat in the House of Lords, are shown to be either groundless, or contrary to the facts."

Third. "All the dates assigned for his consecration—viz., the 22d of February by Godwin, the 23d of April by Dr. Lee, and the 11th of June by Mr. Haddan—are contradicted by the testimony of records."

Fourth. "The whole time left for him to be consecrated in, is reduced to a period of seventeen days, between the 12th and 30th of June inclusive."* During this time there is no evidence that he was consecrated, and the probabilities are against it.

This is in entire accordance with his sentiments and those of Cranmer.

Thus to the question "whether in the New Testament any consecration of a bishop or priest be required, or whether only appointing to the office be sufficient?" they both replied: "In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or priest

^{*} Canon Estcourt, "Anglican Orders," p. 79.

needeth no consecration, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient." We would not be astonished to find Barlow acting in accordance with his sentiments.

The unfortunate founder of the English succession was a religious who had broken his vow of chastity, having married, as Cranmer did, and at the time of his reported or supposed consecration having a family of five daughters and one son.

The effect of these circumstances upon the English orders is very evident.

The probable opinion, and the only one which can be followed in practice, is that the consecrator effects and completes the whole consecration. This is the doctrine of the Roman Pontifical, and the one approved by theologians and the Church. Thus the "Summa Aurea" of Henry de Segusia, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, says: "One perfects the whole consecration, for if one does one part and another another part, nothing is done."

A consecration by a single bishop is perfectly valid, according to the decision of the Holy See.

"Although there are three who consecrate," says Filliucius (tract "De Sac. Ordine"), "one of them alone completes the consecration, even though the others pronounce the words, for of one sacrament there is one minister."

It is then certain that a consecration by an unconsecrated bishop would be held by all theologians as invalid.

2. The form by which Parker is said to have been consecrated was defective and insufficient. This has been formally decided by the decree of the Holy Office, which we have already quoted in the case of Bishop Gordon: "Even if one of the English bishops had received the episcopal ordination, which is by no means proved, these ordinations must be pronounced invalid through the defect of matter, form, and due intention."

We quote again from Dr. Overbeck: "The consecration of Matthew Parker was invalid because the forma sacramenti was insufficient. The form used might be used with just as much propriety in confirmation, since we find not in it the slightest allusion to the Sacrament of Order.

"The Anglicans themselves felt the want, and changed their form in 1662," and an act was passed to heal these defects.

The act ex post facto, VIII. Elizabeth, c. 1, sec. 4, is as follows:

"All acts and things heretofore had, made, and done by any person or persons in or about any consecration, confirmation, or investing of any person or

^{*} Dr. Overbeck, pp. 68, 69.

persons elected to the office or dignity of any archbishop or bishop within the realm or within any other of the queen's dominions, by virtue of the queen's letters patent or commission, since the beginning of her majesty's reign, be and shall be, by authority of this Parliament, declared, judged, and deemed, at and from every of the several times of the doings thereof, good and perfect to all respects and purposes, any matter or thing that can or may be objected to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding."

This act demonstrates that there was question of the validity of the English ordinations even among the authorities, while it is a singular attempt of a parliament to make good a thing already wrongly done.

The simple argument in regard to the *form* used is this:

The form was ambiguous, to say the least, and signified no special gift or sacrament. Secondly, it had been made instead of the ancient rite to expressly deny the Catholic doctrine of orders and priesthood. It could not then be used by any one having the right intention, and as a *form* would be insufficient to fix such intention. If any such form were to be used by any Catholic bishop, his acts would certainly be condemned, and his ordination would be reiterated as insufficient.

The points of this argument are almost self-evident, and can hardly be contradicted.

The simple words "take the Holy Ghost," accompanied by the laying on of hands, neither express any special gift nor intention, and the notorious fact that the actors in Parker's consecration, as well as the framers of the Anglican rite, denied the sacramental character of orders, and the very nature of the priesthood, almost prevents the possibility of their intending to confer the priesthood or episcopate of the Catholic Church.

Thus writes Franciscus à Sancta Clara: "Since they have changed the Church forms de industria, as the second sort of Arians did, to declare that they do not what the Church intends, and in pursuit thereof have solemnly decreed against the power of sacrificing and consecrating in the sense of the old and present Catholic Church, as appears in the 25th and 31st articles, it is evident that they never did or could validly ordain priests, and consequently bishops."

Article XXV. of the Church of England denies the sacramental character of orders, and the most which it admits of the priesthood is that it is "a state of life allowed in the Scriptures." Article XXVIII. denies the real presence, and therefore the sacramental character of the Eucharist. Article XXXI. declares "the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was com-

monly said that the priest did offer Christ for the living and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

As the English Reformers denied the necessity of espiscopal ordination before the time of Parker, so afterwards did they admit the orders of the Protestant Churches on the Continent.

Thus Whitaker replies to Durey: "Luther was a priest and doctor of your own, and could exercise that office in any of your churches. So, too, were Zwingli, Bucer, and others. And as presbyters, if presbyters are by divine right the same as bishops, they could set other presbyters over the churches. Therefore keep your orders to yourselves. God is not so tied to orders but that He can, without order, when the good of the church requires, constitute ministers in the churches. And the churches have the lawful power of choosing ministers, so that there is no need to take from you those who are to discharge the ministry among us."

And Hooker teaches that "there may be sometimes very just reason to allow ordination without a bishop."

On the views of Hooker, Warburton remarks: "The great Hooker was not only against, but laid down

^{*} Whitaker's "Defence," London, 1583, p. 820.

principles that have entirely *subverted*, all pretences to a divine, unalterable right in any form of church government whatever."

"Blessed be God," says Bishop Hall, "there is no difference in any *essential* matter between the Churc of England and her sisters of the Reformation."

"I should be unwilling to affirm," says Archbishop Wake, "that where the ministry is not episcopal there is no true Church, nor any true administration of the sacraments."

Of the reformed bishops of England, their character and position, much might be said. We prefer to quote the language of Froude, who certainly bears no good-will towards the Catholic Church:

"A Catholic bishop holds his office by a tenure untouched by the accidents of time. Dynasties may change, nations may lose their liberties, the firm fabrics of society itself may be swept away in the torrent of revolution; the Catholic prelate remains at his post. When he dies another takes his place, and when the waters sink into their beds, the quiet figure is seen standing where it stood before, the person perhaps changed, the thing itself rooted like a rock on the adamantine basement of the world. The Anglican hierarchy, far unlike its rival, was a child of convulsion and compromise; it drew its life from Elizabeth's throne, and had Elizabeth fallen it would

have crumbled into sand. The Church of England was as a limb lopped off from the Catholic trunk, it was cut away from the stream by which its vascular system had been fed, and the life of it as an independent and corporate existence was gone for ever. But it had been taken up and grafted in the state. If not what it had been, it could retain the *form* of what it had been. The image in its outward aspect could be made to correspond with the parent tree, and to sustain the illusion it was necessary to provide bishops who could *appear* to have inherited their powers by the approved method as successors of the apostles."*

"Her bishops she treated with studied insolence as creatures of her own, whom she had made and could unmake at pleasure. The bishops themselves lived as if they knew their day to be a short one, and made the most of their opportunities while they lasted. Scandalous dilapidation, destruction of woods, waste of the property of the see by beneficial lease, the incumbent enriching himself and his family at the expense of his successors—this is the substantial history of the Anglican hierarchy, with a few honorable exceptions, for the first twenty years of its existence. At the time when Walsingham was urging Elizabeth to an alliance with the Scotch Protestants, Matthew

^{*} Froude, "Hist. of England," VII., pp. 178, 179.

Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was just dead. He had left behind him enormous wealth, which had been accumulated, as is proved from a statement in the handwriting of his successor, by the same unscrupulous practices which had brought about the first revolt against the church. He had been corrupt in the distribution of his own patronage, and he had sold his interest with others. No Catholic prelate in the old easy times had more flagrantly abused the dispensation system. 'Every year he made profits by admitting children to the cure of souls' for money. He used a graduated scale in which the price for inducting an infant into a benefice varied with the age, children under fourteen not being inadmissible if the adequate fees were forthcoming."*

"The position of bishops in the Church of England has been from the first anomalous. The Episcopate was violently separated from the Papacy, to which it would have preferred to remain attached, and, to secure its obedience, it was made dependent on the crown. The method of episcopal appointments, instituted by Henry VIII. as a temporary expedient and abolished under Edward as an unreality, was re-established by Elizabeth, not certainly because she believed that the invocation of the Holy Ghost was required for the complete-

^{*} Froude, XI., p. 100.

ness of an election which her own choice had already determined, not because the bishops obtained any gifts or grace in their consecration which she herself respected, but because the shadowy form of an election, with a religious ceremony following it, gave them the semblance of spiritual independence, the semblance without the substance, which qualified them to be the instruments of the system which she desired to enforce.

"They were tempted to presume on their phantom dignity, till the sword of a second Cromwell taught them the true value of their apostolic descent; and we have a right to regret that the original theory of Cranmer was departed from—that being officers of the crown, as much appointed by the sovereign as the lord chancellor, the bishops should not have worn openly their real character and received their appointments immediately by letters-patent without further ceremony.

"To an episcopacy so constituted the most extreme Presbyterian would not long have objected.

"No national object was secured by the transparent fiction of the election and consecration. The invocation of the Holy Spirit either meant nothing, and was a taking of sacred names in vain, or it implied that the Third Person of the Trinity was, as a matter of course, to register the already de-

clared decision of the English sovereign. No additional respect was secured to the prelacy from the Catholics. Elizabeth, when they provoked her, threatened to depose them; and when the Howards and the Talbots and the Stanleys, with their attendant satellites of knights and esquires, surrendered their hopes of revolution, their reconciliation with the Church of England was not made more easy to them by the possible regularity of a questioned ceremony at Lambeth.

"But neither Elizabeth, nor later politicians of Elizabeth's temperament, desired the Church of England to become too genuine. It has been more convenient to leave an element of unsoundness at the heart of an institution which, if sincere, might be dangerously powerful. The wisest and best of its bishops have found their influence impaired, their position made equivocal by the element of unreality which adheres to them. A feeling approaching to contempt has blended with the reverence attaching to their position, and has prevented them from carrying the weight in the councils of the nation which has been commanded by men of no greater intrinsic eminence in other professions. Pretensions which many of them would have gladly abandoned have connected their office with a smile. The nature of it has, for the most part, filled the sees with men of second-rate abilities. The latest and most singular theory about them is that of the modern English Neo-Catholic, who disregards his bishop's advice, and despises his censures; but looks on him, nevertheless, as some high-bred, worn-out animal, useless in himself, but infinitely valuable for some mysterious purpose of spiritual propagation.

"'Too late' is written against a change at the present day. The apostolic succession has become the first article of the creed of half the clergy, and religious forms are only malleable in the fervent heat of genuine belief. But to play with sacred things is never ventured with impunity. The retention of the consecration alone rendered possible the attitude of the prelacy which cost Laud and Charles I. their heads. The revival of the magical theory of the priesthood, which depends upon it, is the chief cause of the hostility between the teaching of the Church and modern science. has cut off the clergy from all healthy influence over intellect and practice. It has dwarfed religion into opinion or childish superstition, and now, at last, is betraying life and the world to a godless secularity."*

We return, in conclusion, to the words of the *Froude, "Hist. of England," XII. pp. 577-579.

text. They have a sad application to the departed glories of a once living Church, a faithful mother of saints. What once was, has for ever passed away. There is "the name of being alive," but long did the coldness of death reign in the land of Augustine, Anselm, and St. Thomas of Canterbury. In crime, violence, and blood the cross of Augustine went down, and the candlestick of England went out in the blank night. The same hand that once evangelized the Saxon soil can alone bring back a second spring, and the living Church shall rise upon the ashes of desolation. A second temple rises upon the ruins of the old. Canterbury is gone and Durham is gone; York and Winchester have passed away. They are among the memories of grace and greatness lost. Their names shall be mentioned no more among the living. But Westminster and Beverly, Hexham and Northampton, and other sees arise to tell of a brighter future. Hope kindles in the dawn of this second spring. Arise, Jerusalem of our fatherland! "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of God is risen upon thee!"

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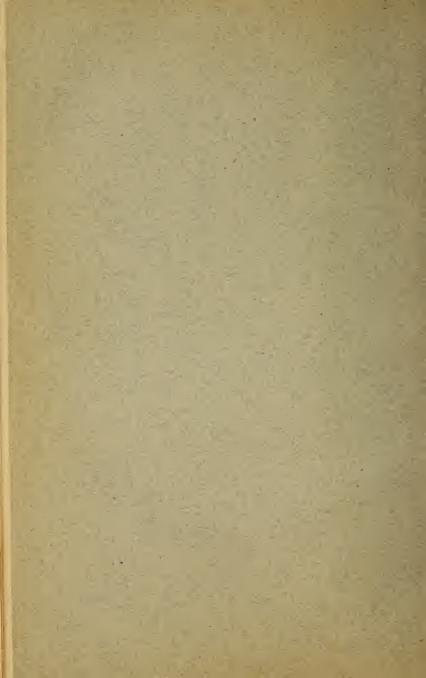
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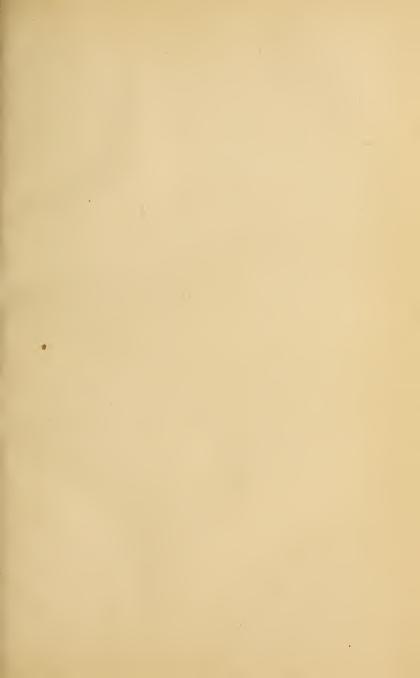
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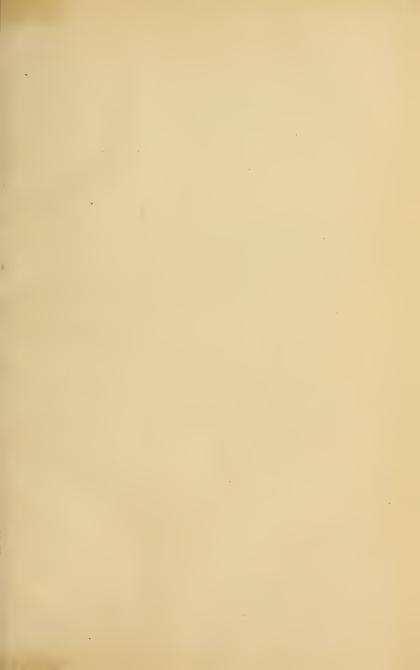
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